THE

CRISIS.

NUMBER LXII. *To be continued Weekly,*

DURING THE PRESENT BLOODY CIVIL WAR IN AMERICA.

SATURDAY, March 23, 1776, [Price Two-pence Halfpenny.

[*Concluded from our laſt.*]

R. *Weſley* aſks,---" How has any Man conſented to " thoſe Laws which were made before he was " born?" I anſwer, *virtually*. He has conſented by his *Anceſtors*. Why do Laws bind now, which were made three hundred Years ago? Becauſe the *ſupreme Power* ſtill ſurvives; it is, by a rational Fiction, ſuppoſed never to die. By as rational a Fiction of Law the deceaſed *Anceſtor* is ſuppoſed ſtill to ſurvive in his *Heirs*; otherwiſe, how could the *Heir* be bound by the ſolemn Acts and Covenants of his *Anceſtor?* Every Man's *Heirs* are conſidered in Law as a Part (a ſurviving Part) of himſelf. For this very reaſon the brave *Americans* juſtly think themſelves bound to deliver down to their Poſterity ſuch original Rights as they neither have, nor poſſibly could intend to ſurrender, by accepting a Charter from the *Crown*. Though *they* and *we* have conſented *virtually*, or (as Mr. *Weſley* terms it) *paſſively*, to ſuch Laws as bound our *Anceſtors* (to the Laws at the *Revolution* for inſtance) yet by thoſe very Laws, and by the Law of right Reaſon, (the Fountain of all other Laws) both *they* and *we* are bound to be *active*, and,

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not *paſſive*, when the *inherent Right* of diſpoſing of *our own*, of the *Fruits of our own Labours* (as Mr. *Weſley* ſays) is diſputed with us; nay abſolutely denied us. When I uſe the Word *us*, I mean to ſpeak as an Advocate for *America*. The *Americans* do not complain of thoſe Laws which bound their *Anceſtors*, but they rightly inſiſt upon being treated like free *Agents*, in ſuch Laws as are at this inſtant intended to bind, and ſubject their *own peculiar Property*, acquired in a Community diſtinct from Great Britain. They will not ſit like *paſſive Cyphers* with their Hands behind them, whilſt their *Money* is taken out of their Pockets *without their own Conſent*. This would argue the greateſt puſillanimity, the baſeſt inattention to Poſterity, Freedom, and their Country.

This indubitable Right of diſpoſing of *his own*, every Man does and muſt bring with him into a diſtinct Community, becauſe every *Freeman* has it in himſelf previous to his Entrance into Society, and unleſs he gives it up it ſtill remains in him. Mr. *Weſley* aſſerts, "that "the Settlers in *America* had no Right to erect a *Legiſlature*, any more "than thoſe who have no Vote in England, have a Right to erect a "*Parliament*." This he aſſerts contrary to the conſtant eſtabliſhed uſage in all the Engliſh Colonies (without exception) where legiſlative Aſſemblies of their own have not only been held from the firſt Settlements, but countenanced by the royal Inſtructions to the ſeveral Governors. This would hardly have been the Caſe, if the *Crown* had thought that the *Colonies* had no Right to form a *Legiſlature* of their own. So little does Mr. *Weſley* know of the Subject on which he writes; but he follows his Maſter *Johnſon's* Steps, right or wrong. He is equally unfortunate in his application of the *American* Caſe to that of Perſons who have no Vote in *England*. Is there no difference between the Caſe of a *diſtinct Community*, and that of Subjects ſtill reſident under the old Government, within the ſame Territory? In the firſt Inſtance, the Government is not as yet ſettled, nor can without ſuch a *diſtinct Legiſlature*, be conveniently ſettled: In the other, it has been long eſtabliſhed, and muſt not be overturned.

Mr. *Weſley* in his 7th Section, allows the *Americans* all they claim under royal Charters, "*Provided*, thoſe Privileges are conſiſtent with "the *Britiſh Conſtitution*." Note, Reader, how very careful *Dr. Johnſon* and *Mr. Weſley* are, to *exclude* the *Americans* from all *Benfits*, unleſs they are ſtrictly agreeable to the *Britiſh Conſtitution*; yet, when theſe People are to bear *Burthens*, (*Taxes*) theſe may be laid without regard

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to the *Conſtitution*, that is to ſay, without the Conſent of the People; and even their *Lives*, and *Liberties* and *Properties* in general, may be diſpoſed of in the ſame Manner. This Mr. *Weſley* expreſsly aſſerts, page 10, and p. 20. This the reprobated Doctrine of Sir *Robert Filmer*, which has never dared to ſhow it's Face ſince the great Mr. *Locke* oppoſed and confuted it, till *Doctor Johnſon* wrote, and the Reverend Mr. *Weſley* held the Candle to him.

"The Legiſlature of a Colony (ſays *Mr. Weſley*) is like the *Veſtry of* "*a large Pariſh*, which may aſſeſs its own Inhabitants, but is ſtill "liable to *Taxes* laid by ſupreme Authority." I have ſhewn the difference in a former Paper; but to add another Word; The *Veſtry* and *Pariſhioners* are all but a Part of one great Community, *taxed* on account of Property acquired by *themſelves*, within one and the ſame Territory, under one and the ſame Legiſlature where they are actually repreſented, and entitled to no diſtinct Legiſlature of their own. The *Americans* form a *diſtinct* and diſtant Commuity, where they acquire a diſtinct Property, out of the Territory of Great Britain, entitled a *diſtinct Legiſlature* of their own, and exercising diſtinct legiſlative Powers Time out of Mind, in all Caſes relative to *internal* Burthens and civil Oeconomy, and this too with the conſtant Aſſent of both King and Parliament.---'Till Mr. *Weſley* can prove that *America* lies in *Great Britain*, his Compariſon will not hold.

Mr. *Weſley* has the Modeſty in his 8th Section, to confeſs a groſs Miſtake in his former Edition. It would be more candid to recant his whole Supplement to Dr. *Johnſon*'s larger Work.

In his 10th Section, he ſeems to tremble at the Thought of a "*Commonwealth*, which is to be erected in England by a *few Men*." A wondrous Revolution this! like that of *Bayes* in the *Rehearſal*, to be effected, we know not by whom, or how, or why. But to treat this phantom of the Brain more ſeriouſly: A *Commonwealth* certainly followed the *Decollation* of that *unhappy Dupe*, that *perſevering* Tyrant, Charles the Firſt: but does Mr. *Weſley* ſee a ſtronger likeneſs between the reign of that weak Prince and his preſent Majeſty, than there is between *America* and a *Pariſh Veſtry*? Charles attempted to govern without a Parliament---George the Third never did; the Views of King and Parliament were *then* very different. The Parliament *then* were againſt the King and endeavoured to ſave the Conſtitution:

Charles

Charles wiſhed to deſtroy it. His preſent Majeſty never fails of having a *Majority* of his Parliament with him, becauſe the Views of King and Parliament are *now* the ſame. Is this the reaſon why *Mr. Wesley* trembles at the dreadful Thought of an approaching *Commonwealth? Oppreſſion* is the Cauſe of every well founded *Revolution*; Monarchies may fall, and Commonwealths may riſe from their Aſhes. But Commonwealths ever are, and ever muſt be founded upon *Virtue*: They are the greateſt Favourers both of civil and religious Liberty, and their ruling Principle, *Equality*, is better adapted, if not to bloodſhed, yet to Peace and Commerce, than the deſpotic ſupremacy of a Tyrant *King* and a corrupt *Majority* of Parliament, formed into a determined Junto for the Deſtruction of civil Liberty.

I ſhall endeavour now to anſwer the ſeveral Interrogatories which *Mr. Wesley* puts to the *Americans* in his 11th Section.

"Can you hope for a more deſirable *Form* of Government?

Mr. Pope anſwered this Queſtion long ago.

"For *Forms* of Government let Fools conteſt;
"That which is beſt *adminiſtered* is beſt."

"What more *religious* Liberty can you deſire than that which you enjoy already?"

Do you mean in *Canada*, Sir, where Popery is eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament?

"What civil Liberty can you deſire which you are not already *poſſeſſed of?*

We deſire not to be *diſpoſſeſſed*.

"Do you not ſit, without *reſtraint*, every Man under his own *Vine?*

We cannot ſay without *reſtraint*; for we are obliged to defend our *Vineyards*. The late blaſts of *Tyranny* have ſo ſower'd the *Grapes*, that "*the People's Teeth are ſet on Edge*."

"Would the being independent of *England* make you more free?"

We only wiſh to be independent of *Tyranny*.

"Do you not enjoy the *Fruit* of your Labours?"

The *Fruit* of our Labours is our Wealth and Property: Theſe you have already told us (page 10.) we have ceded to the King and Parliament; who have (you ſay) the Power of diſpoſing, *without our Conſent*,

ſent, of both our *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*. The King and Parliament have intimated the ſame, though not quite in ſuch direct Terms, but their Cannons ſpeak the plaineſt Language in the Field.

"Would a *Republican* Government give you more Liberty?"

No Government can give us leſs than that which leaves us nothing that we can call our *own*.

"*Republics* (you ſay) ſhew no Mercy."

True, not to Sodomites and hired Slaughters of the People; but let *America* and *Wilkes* declare the Mercy which whole Territories, if not *paſſive*, and Individuals, if not *dumb*, have received from a Government which is no *Republic*.

The wholeſome Advice which Mr. *Weſley* adminiſters in his 12th and 13th Sections to *America*, muſt be well received from the ſame Mouth which tells them in his 4th Section, that their *Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, are at the diſpoſal of the King and Parliament. A Doctrine to which the ſervile Bench of *Biſhops* would hardly ſubſcribe unanimouſly: Nay, I doubt, whether ſome of the *Crown Lawyers* would not heſitate, not, perhaps, from Conſcience, but from Shame.

With the ſame ſtrength of Features Mr. *Weſley* declares, that the Advocates for *America* have "exclaimed againſt Grievances, which "either *never exiſted*, or are aggravated *above Meaſure*." Did the *Fiſhery* (or *Famine*) Bill never exiſt? Does not the *Perſeverance* of King & Parliament ſtill exiſt? Have not Famine, Popery, Sword, and Fire, been carried into *America* by Act of Parliament? Are not theſe the worſt of temporal Miſeries? When theſe Grievances are let looſe among Subjects, can the complaining Sufferers be ſaid to aggravate them *above Meaſure?* But, I congratulate myſelf upon my happy arrival at Mr. *Weſley*'s pious *Per-oration*, exhorting the oppreſſed *Americans* "to follow *after Peace*." Smitten upon one Cheek, they are to turn the other:---As if the Sufferers were the Aggreſſors, he admoniſhes them with his parting Breath, "to fear GOD, and honour the *King*." Mr. *Weſley* has given his Opinion freely (p. 14.) to the *Americans*; I take Leave to give my Opinion as freely to him. This it is: That Subject may be truely ſaid to *fear God*, who defends with firmneſs and intrepidity, his *Life*, his *Liberty*, his *Property*, and the *Dignity of his Nature*, againſt every Effort of *Tyranny* and *Oppreſſion*. When theſe

Gifts

Gifts are inhumanly invaded, Heaven itſelf is daringly inſulted; for the due Employment of theſe diſtinguiſhing and peculiar Bleſſings Man is accountable to God; and therefore it would be the height of Impiety and Preſumption, to ſubmit them tamely to the diſpoſal of any Power upon Earth. They are to be enjoyed and uſed to the Honour and Glory of our Maker; ſhould we make a ſervile Offering of theſe choice Bounties at the feet of *Man*, we ſhould offend and affront GOD, diſhonour the *King*, enſlave our Poſterity, injure our Country, and debaſe our Nature.

CASCA.

P. S. Mr. *Weſley* ſeems fond of *Secrets* (p. 17.) I will tell him one, known as yet, only at *St. James's*.---A conſiderable Part of our Proviſion-Tranſports, ſent to the ROYAL TROOPS at *Boſton*, are taken by the *Americans*, Guns and all; but the *miniſterial Contractors* are to be paid, for all that, larger Prices than better Proviſions ſell for by retail in Newgate-Market. Another *Secret*;---*Preſs Warrants* are ſoon to iſſue for manning our ſecond (or rather *third*) Fleet againſt *America*. Not a ſingle Sailor enters willingly: They are of the ſame Opinion with our Soldiers, that *Engliſh* Throats ought to cut by *Foreigners*; eſpecially by *Hanoverians*, whoſe *little Electorate* hangs like a *dependent Cob-web* upon the *Britiſh Crown*. As to the *miniſterial Lies* circulated about the defeat of General *Montgomery* at *Quebec*, I give Mr. *Wesley* and all his *Maſters* Joy of them; but as that *Divine* deals in *probabilities* (p. 14.) no leſs flimſey than his *Logic*, I ſhould be glad to know, what *probability* there is, that the *Canadians* ſhould have *deſerted* General *Montgomery*, as our News Writers ſay, on Account of the inclemency of the Weather. Would not a *Scotch Highlander*, who ſleeps all Night upon a Mountain, and finds his Hair frozen down to it in the Morning, endure the inclemency of the Weather better than a *Macaroni* of the *Guards*? The Caſe is the ſame between the *Canadians* born in the back Settlements, and the Natives in the Frontiers and mid-land Parts of the Continent of North America. If our *Miniſtry* will *Lie*, they ſhould remember PROBABILITY.

Errata. No. LXI. was by miſtake dated 12th *March* inſtead of the 16th.

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